1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

and there by little islands in the distance. There is no sign of human habitation. Other parts of the road run through native villages, with the little low, thatch-roofed, bamboo-walled huts nestling under the tall palm trees. In front of a house is a man playing with his infant son. Out on a reef is a group of men standing in circular formation knee-deep in the sea, each with a fishing-net or spear, waiting for the appropriate moment to close in on the fish. Further on sits an old man in front of the men's house, weaving a fishing-net. In the open compound are a group of women sitting on the ground, scraping the taro for their evening meal. From the road the gardens are not visible, for they are several miles distant in the bush.

The road leaves the village to run again through an uninhabited part, where the only sound is the roar of the waves against a high precipice. Then it turns in and passes through the evenly planted coconut trees of a white man's plantation, whose orderliness stands out in contrast with the irregular and crowded coconut trees in the villages. So the road continues, linking distant villages in a friendly fashion, whereas before the advent of the white man the relationship between them was merely the hostilities of warfare.[1]

DAILY LIFE

In the villages the day begins with the rising sun, which is the timepiece for the natives.[2] From the home emerge, yawning, the husband, wife, female children, and very young

[1] The road was begun under the German administration and is now kept up by native labour.

[2] The sun rises and sets at approximately six o'clock, with a variation of only about twenty minutes throughout the year. Sunrise, sunset, and night are the main distinctions of time. Other times are indicated by pointing to the place in the sky where the sun would be then. Boys who have worked on the white man's plantation know noon as the time for the midday meal, but it does not figure in native life.

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Locality

New Ireland is divided into nine main linguistic units, which are further subdivided into smaller units based on differences in dialect. People who live twenty miles distant do not understand each other. There is no tribal, political, or other social relationship between these linguistic units. Even the villages of one linguistic section do not act as a unit. They have no common chief, and until recently, when it was prohibited by the white Government, there was fighting between the villages of the same linguistic unit. To-day there is jealousy and absence of any united feeling among them. It is merely a geographical area, separated from other areas by its language, but other than that it has no cohesion and does not even have a name. The village, with its distinct round of life, its chief, its important old men, its communal rites, its communally owned ground, its gossip and mass of trivial details which make up life, is the largest functioning unit based on locality. To-day, inter-village life within the same linguistic unit is confined mostly to important ritual occasions, when members of near-by villages congregate.

The village is subdivided into hamlets. Lesu, the village where I lived, has 232 inhabitants, and stretches along the coast for about three miles. It is divided into fifteen hamlets, separated from one another by fences and sometimes also by unused land. Each hamlet contains from two to eight houses. The larger hamlets have their men's house and cemetery, and every hamlet has its own communal cooking-ground and sometimes a cookhouse. The only orientation in the arrangement of houses is that the men's house and cemetery are near the sea. Each hamlet also has its name and a community life of its own, apart from its participation in the village life, and its members are frequently close relatives, but not always so. The women cook together and the men assist each other in their fishing and house-building.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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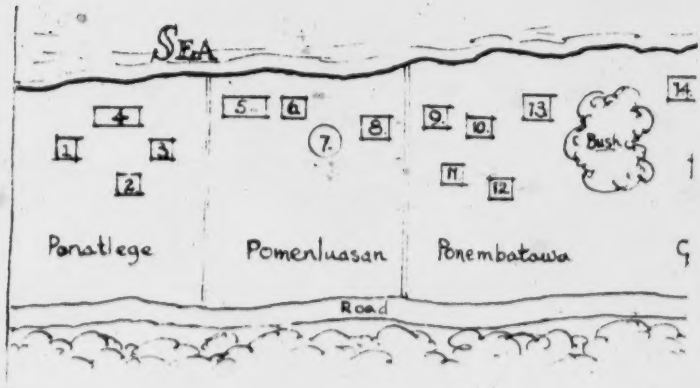
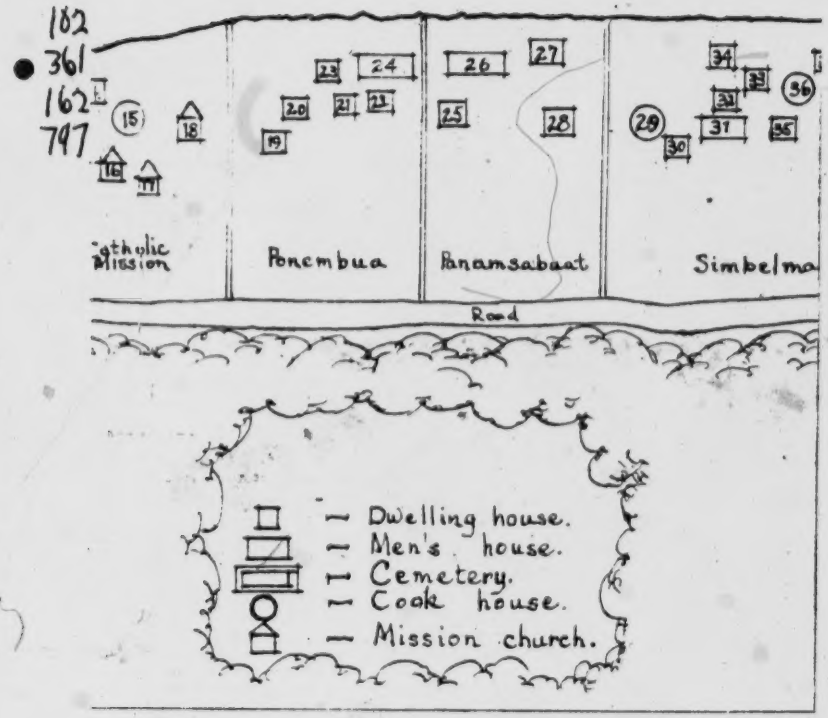


1. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
2. Dwelling—man and wife, 5 children (4 males, 1 female).
3. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
4. Men's house.
5. Men's house.
6. Small dwelling unoccupied.
7. Cook-house.
8. Dwelling—old widow, living alone.
9. Dwelling—widower, living alone (house more decorated with carving than any other house in the village).
10. Dwelling—widower, living alone.
11. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
12. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
13. Dwelling—man and wife.
14. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
15. Cook-house.
16. Mission church.
17. Mission house.
18. House where the Catholic missionary stops when he is in the village.
19. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (males).
20. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
21. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).

[p. 32(A)]



In reality the hamlets are separated from each other by bush, a fence, or

22. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
23. Dwelling—man and wife.
24. Men's house.
25. Empty dwelling.
26. Men's house.
27. Dwelling—widow and 1 child (male).
28. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (female).
29. Cook-house.
30. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
31. Men's house.
32. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
33. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
34. Old deserted dwelling.
35. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (female).
36. Cook-house.
37. Dwelling—man and wife.
38. House, where native boy trained at Government hospital, is supposed to take care of the sick.
39. Dwelling—one man and two wives.
40. Dwelling, widow.
41. Cook-house.
42. Dwelling—man and wife.

[p. 32 (B)]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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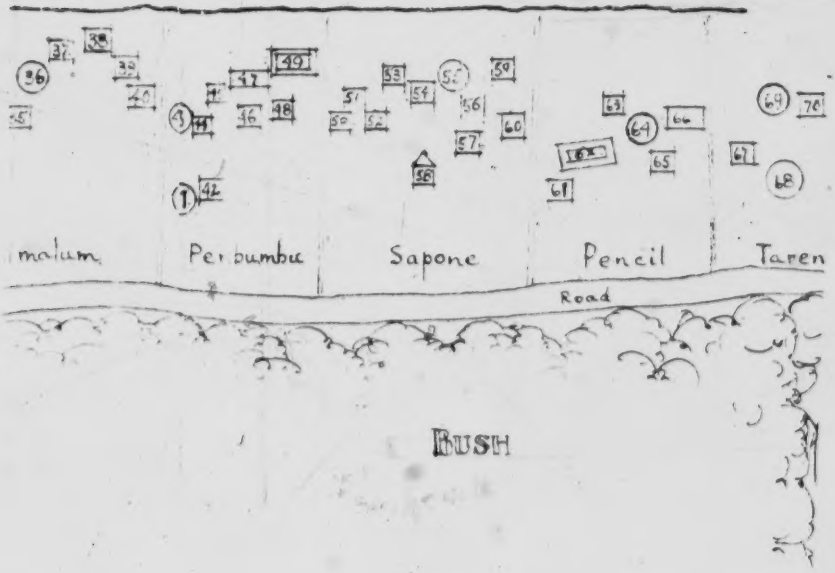

PLAN OF VILLAGE SHOWING DIVISION INTO HAMLETS

ce, or sometimes by nothing at all. Everyone knows where one hamlet begins and the

43. Cook-house.
44. Dwelling—widow.
45. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
46. Old deserted dwelling.
47. Men's house.
48. Dwelling—widower.
49. Cemetery.
50. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
51. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (females).
52. Dwelling—man and wife.
53. Dwelling—one man (bachelor), (brother to man in dwelling 56).
54. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
55. Cook-house.
56. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (3 males, 1 female, one of them adopted).
57. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
58. Mission church (Methodist).
59. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (2 males, 2 females).
60. Dwelling—man and 2 wives, 1 child (female).
61. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
62. Cemetery.
63. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female, adopted).

[p. 32(c)]

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other ends. The corresponding numbers describe the occupants of ho

64. Cook-house.
65. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (2 males, 1 female).
66. Men's house.
67. Dwelling—man and wife, 5 children (males).
68. Cook-house.
69. Cook-house.
70. Dwelling—man and wife.
71. Cemetery.
72. Old deserted house.
73. Dwelling—old widower.
74. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
75. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
76. Cook-house.
77. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (2 males, 2 females).
78. Dwelling—widower and son.
79. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
80. Dwelling—man and wife.
81. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
82. Men's house.
83. Cemetery.
84. Old deserted dwelling.
85. Dwelling—man and wife.

[p. 32 (D)]

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

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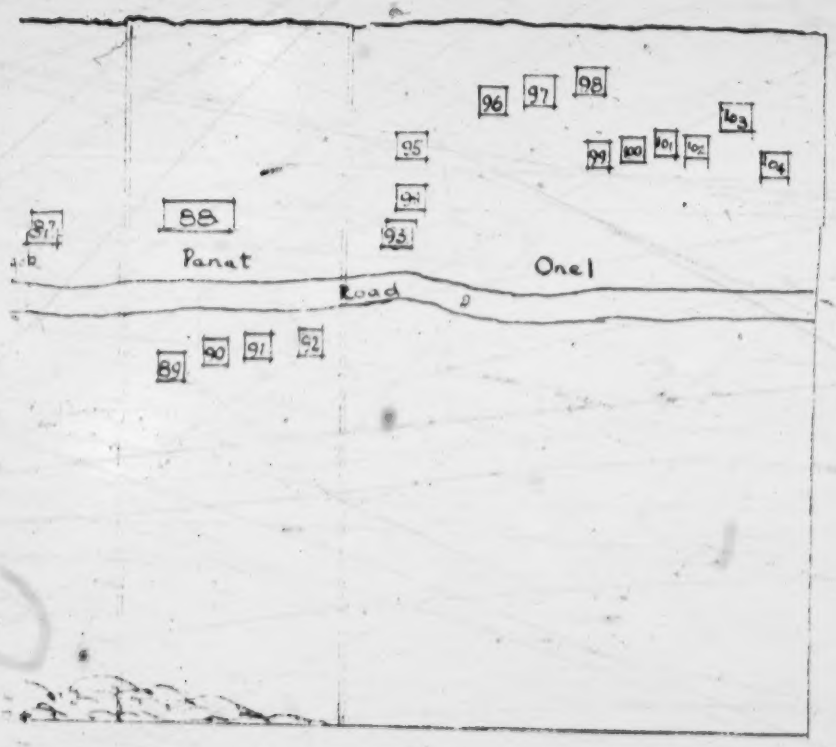

of houses.

86. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
87. Dwelling—man and wife, 3 children (1 male, 2 females).
88. Men's house.
89. Dwelling—old widow, her daughter, a young widow, and her young son.
90. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
91. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
92. Dwelling—man and wife.
93. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (males).
94. Dwelling—man and 2 wives, 2 children (males, one by each wife).
95. Dwelling—man and wife, 4 children (3 males, 1 female).
96. Dwelling—man and wife.
97. Dwelling—widow, 3 children (1 male, 2 females).
98. Dwelling—man and wife, 2 children (1 male, 1 female).
99. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (female).
100. Dwelling—man and wife, 1 child (male).
101. Dwelling—man and wife.
102. Dwelling—man and wife.

☒ The house in which I lived is marked with an X, and is in the hamlet of Penguli.

[p. 32(E)]

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

goods. Each year this economic bond between European and native residents grows stronger, and the two racial interests become more interdependent.

The native inhabitants pay taxes to the Government, and keep 150 miles of road between Kavieng and Karu in proper order for motor traffic, each village group being responsible for its own section.

These are some of the principal developments in the material life of the people as a result of European settlement. On the cultural and social life, chiefly due to mission influence, additional far-reaching changes have taken place, and these increase as the missions expand. Two mission organizations are now operating in the district—Roman Catholic and Methodist. The principal Roman Catholic stations are at Lemakot, Munuwai and Lemasong, and those of the Methodist Mission are at Maiom and Pinigindu.

The progress of European organizations has transformed the life of the natives, whose indigenous institutions have either died out or, like the *maligans*, are tottering to extinction with scarcely a hope of surviving the present generation. The people of coming generations will have to fit into the social and religious fabric being woven for them by the driving force of European industrial, religious and administrative control now thoroughly established in the district.

With the object of making the survey in question, I left Rabaul on Saturday, 23rd March, 1929, and on Monday, the 25th March, commenced work in the villages between Kavieng and Karu. Completing the preliminary census on the 11th May, I came back to Rabaul to tabulate my notes, and, this done, returned to the east coast villages, where I remained from the 1st June until the 26th June, investigating special phenomena indicated by the tables.

Thus the work was divided into two parts, firstly, an enumeration of the population in their villages, and, secondly, an investigation of the figures together with social and religious features seemingly of value to the issue.

A specimen of the form used in recording the names and demographic features of the inhabitants is appended. (Appendix 1.) In regard to the actual method, however, a generalized explanation is necessary.

The inhabitants live in small family settlements along the coast-line, excepting mountain and forest groups, who reside in the bush. Each settlement has its own small plot of land, clumps of coco-nut trees, and two or three living houses. They are scattered along the whole coast-line a few yards or 100 yards or so apart, according to the political boundaries and space available. A group of several family settlements forms a political division, which is administered by the Government with the aid of local natives of influence and repute, who are appointed Lulusi and Tul-tul and officiate under the supervision of the District Officer according to authority set out in the Native Administration

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Ordinance. The political division, therefore, is the unit of government. In the centre of the settlements thus grouped together is the local government rest house (House Kiap), where official business is usually conducted. Throughout the paper I shall call political divisions "villages."

As the settlements themselves are scattered at irregular intervals in long straggling lines (sometimes a mile or more in length), I found it more convenient in collecting my data to follow the usual practice and call every one to the House Kiap for interrogation.

It would have been better, however, had I examined the various families where they lived and recorded the information alongside each house. This course would have taken up much more time, but it would have enabled me to see and talk to old, sick, and infirm people who had not been able to assemble at the House Kiap—people, who, though few in numbers, might have had important information for the records. During my investigation, information regarding such absentees was supplied by the local Luluais and friends of the missing ones. From the point of view of method, therefore, it is important that everyone should be seen and interrogated personally in the place where he lives.

The people were given notice of my coming, and invariably they were ready for interrogation the moment I arrived in a recording centre, i.e., the village House Kiap. Nearly everyone understood "pidgin English", but nevertheless competent interpreters, together with the more intelligent of the older men of each village, stood by to assist. The reason for the work and its relation to administrative activities for native welfare were explained in each village, and the importance of exactitude was stressed. Men and women were then called up and interrogated in turn. In each case, the birth-place of the husband and wife was entered for the purpose of investigating systems of inter-village marriage. Ages of men, women, and children could only be estimated. Males and females said to have passed the reproductive age are recorded as "old". Children apparently having passed the age of puberty appear in the age group as fourteen years and over. Opposite each man's name are all the women he has at any time married, and in line with each of these wives are the names of her male and female children, entered in order of birth. Those absent at school or work appear in a special column with the necessary additional particulars. The children of each marriage who have died were given by name (friends assisting where the memory of the mother was weak), but in the columns of deaths they appear as follows ♂ ♀ males and females dying during lactation, ♂ ♀ males and females stillborn, ♂ ♀ males and females dying after lactation. Special note is also made of first-born children who have died during lactation.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

As I have already pointed out, the people of the East coast of New Ireland live in small family settlements along the seashore, while the bush groups live in the forest and mountain ranges running parallel with the coast. A number of these settlements form a village. The village is the unit of administration and each one has its government representative who facilitates the work of the District Officers. The senior native representative is known as Luluai, and his assistants Tul-tul: the Tul-tuls vary in number according to the importance of the village. Each village has in addition a native trained in the government hospitals to administer simple treatment to the sick; he is known as the Medical Tul-tul, and he generally has a small building at his disposal, in which drugs are kept and the sick are treated.

Between Kavieng and Karu there are 68 political or village divisions. Their names and distance from Kavieng are as follow:—

Name of Village Plantations in Capital Letters.	Distance from Kavieng.
Kulangit	At Kavieng
Bagail	„
Mungal	„
Omo	„
Maiom	Near Kavieng
PANAPAI	4½ miles
Papliang	
Bobai	
Kapliman	
Kaselok	
KASELOK	
Putput	
WALUS	
ULUL	20 „
Nono	
Ngavelus	
Lovong-ai	
KAPSU	25 „
Losuk	
KATU	28 „
Mangai	
Livitua	
Laowan	
Vongararum	
Paruai	
Lakura fanga	
LAKURAFANGA	37 „
BAIA	39 „
Nonapai	
Sali	
Lamekot	
LAMEKOT	42 „
Fongalava	
FONGALAVA	44½ „
Luburua	
LUBURUA	46 „
Lakuruman	
LAKURUMAU	48 „
MARAMAKAS	50 „

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Name of Village Plantations in Capital Letters.	Distance from Kavieng.
361 FILIBA	52 miles
621 MUNUWAI	
103 Munuwai	
Laraibina	
Roman Catholic Mission	
Lugagun	
LUGAGUN	55 „
Madina	
MADINA	
Luaupul	
FISOA	62 „
Fisoa	
KAFKAF	64 „
Kafkaf	66 „
Fatmilak	69½ „
Limalaua	
BOLAGILA	74½ „
Tandis	75½ „
Limba	
LIMBA	77 „
Yendat	
Lang-inia	78½ „
LASSU	
Lassu	
Amba	
Letatan	
LEMASONG	87½ „
Lemasong	
Roman Catholic Mission	
Konnos	
Konobin	
Methodist Mission	
Pinigindu	
PINIGINDU	96½ „
KATEMBONG	97 „
Tekirot	
KATENDAN	99 „
Katendan	
Lambuso	
KIMADEN	104 „
Malom	107 „
Lasigi	
Watkana	
Kanagnusgnu	
Livinko	
KANDAN	114 „
Kandan	
Limbin	
Kantebu	
Bumbuwe	120 „
Lemaris	122 „
Kanambu	124 „
Watlamo	
Panatgin	126 „
Dabinet	
Silom	128 „
Katenda	
Bulu	130 „
Logon	137 „
Kanam	140 „
Karu	147 „
KARU	147 „

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

Scattered along the coast between the villages are the coco-nut plantations owned and worked by Europeans. They also appear in the list above-mentioned in capital letters. 361

During the German régime, efforts to enumerate the natives living between Kavieng and Madina were still being made in 1901-1902, and in that year the Government called a meeting of tribes, who two years before were hostile, and induced them to select chiefs to assist in local administration. Sub-districts were delineated and an enumeration was made, 5,118 people being recorded between Kavieng and Lugagun. This number did not include the forest and mountain people, as it was intended later on to amalgamate these with the coastal groups. In 1906-1907, however, the successful organization of unions between the two stocks appears to have taken place. What is meant by this is not quite clear, but, from what I gathered during the inquiry, most of the mountain people were induced to build temporary villages on the coast, and fusion between the stocks was encouraged in every possible way. Certain villages on the coast now belong to mountain people, who live in them for short intervals, and almost everywhere more or less fusion between the two stocks has taken place. 659 619 [161]

A great civilizing factor in those days was the coastal road, which in 1902-3 was extended to Fisoa, and in 1903-4 had reached Pinigindu. During 1911-12 no effort was spared to make it suitable for motor traffic. After military occupation in 1914 this road was extended to Kimaden, and during the present civil administration it has been carried on as far as Karu. Its existence has had a tremendous influence on the development of the people of the district, by whose labour, of course, it has been built and kept in repair. 491

The people of the area investigated are divided linguistically into three main groups, two coastal languages, one extending from Kavieng to Fatmilak, and one from Fatmilak to Karu, and bush languages which appear in purest form in the Limalaua group of people who live in the bush and on the coast near Fatmilak. According to information received from natives, the Kavieng-Fatmilak language is divided into the following dialectical groups:— 197

Kavieng to Losuk.
Mangai to Livitua.
Laowan to Luburua.
Lakurumau (said to be different from the others).
Munawai to Fatmilak.

The languages from Fatmilak to Karu are grouped as follow:— Limalaua (a bush language) is said to extend to Yendat and possibly to Lemo, Bimun, Panaras, Patlinger and other villages to the west.